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X. The responsibility of the United States of America for any damage inflicted by force of arms with the object of detaining any person or vessel proceeding in contravention to regulations duly promulgated in accordance with this executive order shall cease from this date.

XI. This order shall take effect from and after this date.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
27 August, 1917.

NOTE FROM THE RUSSIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE BRITISH
REPLY RESPECTING THE ALLIED WAR AIMS¹

No. 1

M. Nabokoff, Russian Charge d'Affaires, to Mr. Balfour

(Translation)

RUSSIAN EMBASSY, London,
May 3, 1917

SIR,

The Russian Provisional Government published on the 27th March a manifesto to Russian citizens, in which it expressed the views of the Government of free Russia on the objects of the present war. The Minister for Foreign Affairs instructs me to communicate to you this document and to add the following observations. Our enemies have lately endeavored to sow discord between the Allies by spreading absurd reports regarding the alleged intention of Russia to conclude a separate peace with the Central Monarchies. The text of the annexed document will provide the best refutation of such inventions. The general principles enunciated therein by the Provisional Government are in entire agreement with the lofty ideals which have been repeatedly and recently proclaimed by eminent statesmen of the Allied countries. These principles have also been lucidly expressed in the words of the President of our new Ally, the great American Republic. The government of the old régime in Russia was certainly not in a position to appreciate and to share these ideas as to the liberating character of the war, the creation of a stable basis for the peaceful coöperation of nations, and the freedom of oppressed peoples. Emancipated Russia can now speak in terms

¹ British Parliamentary Paper, Miscellaneous No. 10 (1917).

which will be understood by modern democracies, and she hastens to add her voice to those of her Allies. The declarations of the Provisional Government, imbued with this new spirit of a freed democracy, cannot of course afford the least pretext for assuming that the collapse of the old structure has entailed any diminution of Russia's share in the common struggle of all the Allies. On the contrary, the nation's determination to bring the world war to a decisive victory has been accentuated, thanks to the feeling of responsibility which to-day is incumbent upon us collectively and individually. This tendency has become still more active owing to the fact that it is concentrated on the immediate task—which touches all so closely—of driving back the enemy who has invaded our country's territory.

It is understood, and the annexed document expressly states, that the Provisional Government, in safeguarding the acquired rights of the country, will maintain strict regard for the engagements entered into with Russia's Allies. Firmly convinced of the victorious termination of the present war, and in perfect agreement with its Allies, the Provisional Government is equally sure that the problems raised by this war will find their solution in the creation of some stable basis for a lasting peace, and that, imbued with the same sentiments, the allied democracies will find a means of obtaining the guarantees and penalties necessary for preventing a return of sanguinary wars in the future.

I have, etc.,

C. NABOKOFF.

Enclosure in No. 1.

(Translation)

PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Provisional Government, having examined the situation in Russia, has decided in the name of its duty to the country, to tell the people directly and openly the whole truth. The régime which has now been overthrown left the defence of the country in a gravely disorganized condition. By its culpable inaction and its inept measures it introduced disorganization into our finances, commissariat, transport, and supply of munitions to the army. It weakened the whole of our economic organization. The Provisional Government, with the active coöperation of the whole nation, will devote all its energy to repair these grave results of the old régime. But time is pressing. The blood

of many sons of the fatherland has been shed freely during these two and a half long years of war, but the country, which is now in the very birth-throes of Russian liberty, is still exposed to the attack of the powerful adversary who occupies whole territories of our state and is threatening us with a new and decisive thrust. Whatever be the cost, the defense of our national patrimony and the deliverance of the country from the enemy who has invaded our borders constitutes the principal and vital problem before our soldiers who are defending the liberty of the people. Leaving the definite decision of all questions bearing on the world war and its termination to the will of the people, in close union with our Allies, the Provisional Government deems it its right and its duty to declare forthwith that free Russia does not aim at dominating other peoples, at depriving them of their national patrimony, or at occupying foreign territories by force, but that its object is to establish a durable peace on the basis of the right of nations to decide their own destiny. The Russian people do not lust after the strengthening of their power abroad at the expense of other nations, nor do they aim at subjugating or humbling anyone. In the name of the higher principles of equity they have removed the chains which weighed upon the Polish nation. But the Russian nation will not allow its fatherland to emerge from the great struggle with its vital forces humbled and weakened. These principles will constitute the basis of the foreign policy of the Provisional Government, which is carrying out without fail the popular will and is safeguarding the rights of our fatherland, while observing the engagements entered into with our Allies. The Provisional Government of free Russia has no right to hide the truth from the people. The state is in danger. Every effort must be made to save it. Let the country respond to the truth which has been told, not by useless depression nor by discouragement, but by unanimous vigor with a view to the creation of one national will. This will give us new strength for the struggle and will bring us salvation. In the hour of grave trial, let the whole country find in itself strength to consolidate the freedom won and to devote itself to untiring labor for the welfare of free Russia. The Provisional Government, which has given its solemn oath to serve the people, is firmly confident that, with the general and unanimous support of each and all, it will itself be able to perform its duty to the country till the end.

The President, of the Council,

Prince Lvov.

No. 2.

British Reply to Russian Note regarding the Allied War Aims

On the 3d May His Majesty's Government received, through the Russian Chargé d'Affaires, a note from the Russian Government declaratory of their war policy.

In the proclamation to the Russian people, enclosed in the note, it is said that "free Russia does not propose to dominate other peoples or to take from them their national patrimony, or forcibly to occupy foreign territory." In this sentiment the British Government heartily concur. They did not enter upon this war as a war of conquest, and they are not continuing it for any such object. Their purpose at the outset was to defend the existence of their country and to enforce respect for international engagements. To those objects has now been added that of liberating populations oppressed by alien tyranny. They heartily rejoice, therefore, that Free Russia has announced her intention of liberating Poland—not only the Poland ruled by the old Russian autocracy, but equally that within the dominion of the Germanic Empires. In this enterprise the British democracy wish Russia God-speed. Beyond everything we must seek for such a settlement as will secure the happiness and contentment of the peoples and take away all legitimate causes of future war.

The British Government heartily join their Russian Allies in their acceptance and approval of the principles laid down by President Wilson in his historic message to the American Congress. These are the aims for which the British peoples are fighting. These are the principles by which their war policy is and will be guided. The British Government believe that, broadly speaking, the agreements which they have from time to time made with their Allies are conformable to these standards. But if the Russian Government so desire, they are quite ready with their Allies to examine and, if need be, to revise these agreements.

June 8, 1917.